

Next 1 Page(s) In Document Exempt

October 1968

COMMUNISTS ESTABLISH ANOTHER FRONT IN SOUTH VIETNAM

During and after the Tet offensive in South Vietnam at the beginning of 1968, North Vietnam's radios and newspapers devoted considerable space and broadcast time to the alleged establishment in South Vietnam's major cities of numerous organizations with names like the "Front for National and Peace Forces." These organizations completely failed to evoke popular response to Communist pleas for an uprising against the Saigon government and immediate personal and material support for the attacking Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops. When these organizations also failed to produce the "prominent personalities" in South Vietnamese life, who had allegedly welcomed their establishment, Hanoi temporarily slackened off her efforts. Students of Ho Chi Minh and his front technique predicted at the time that since the Communists had failed in what was an effort to replace the largely discredited National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF), they would try again.

And in April Hanoi did try again. On the 22nd, the Viet Cong's "Liberation Radio," broadcasting from Hanoi, announced the establishment of the "Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces" (VANDPF) which the Communist radio claimed had been formed during a "Congress" in an unidentified location near Saigon. Attending the so-called "Congress" (if indeed it did occur at all) was a group described as "representatives of patriotic and democratic forces." This wording was intended to imply that the Alliance was a spontaneous outgrowth of the desire of virtually all segments of South Vietnamese society to band together, to be heard, to influence the course of events, to work towards peace, and to participate in their government. The Alliance has been represented since its establishment as a group of non-Communist urban intellectuals, civil servants, members of various political parties, religious figures and the like. However, the few members of the Alliance actually identified by name have for the most part been obscure leftist Saigon intellectuals, several with long histories of identification with Communist causes and almost all involved in spurious "peace" movements over the past several years.

Although earlier local chapters of the Alliance had been publicized over the Communist radio as the "spontaneous uprising" of the South Vietnamese people in response to Viet Cong calls for support during the Tet offensive, prisoners captured at the time indicated that the alliance gambit had been carefully worked out well before the Tet attacks. Documents captured long before that, in fact, (emanating from the 12th Session of the Lao Dong in December 1965) had outlined the necessity for creating alliances appearing to represent all elements of the South Vietnamese population and designed to operate openly as non-Communist organizations. Despite the fact that the alliance method attempted during Tet had failed, the Communists tried the same method again, possibly in response to the increasing decline in the credibility of the NLF at home and abroad. Once again information supplied by captured guerrillas

and documents found in guerrilla bases completely contradicted the "spontaneous and representative" nature of the national Alliance and further confirmed its complete control by the Communists.

Open Communist Support for the Alliance

The Communists have been far from subtle in trying to muster support for their new front. Not only was its establishment announced in glowing terms by the Viet Cong and Liberation Front (NLF) radios, still broadcasting from Hanoi, but its platform bore a remarkable resemblance to that of the NLF including calls for the overthrow of the legally elected South Vietnamese government, the withdrawal of all allied forces from Vietnam and the establishment of a coalition government. Since the initial announcement of 22 April, Viet Cong radio has been no less enthusiastic and has regularly carried statements allegedly made by Alliance leaders regarding the international situation, the progress of the war and local affairs. The central theme of these statements (usually anonymous) has followed in the footsteps of Hanoi's theme makers: the present government of South Vietnam is illegal and is a U.S. puppet, the U.S. should heed Hanoi's demands for a unilateral bombing cessation, the U.S. should withdraw and let the South Vietnamese settle their own affairs. Strange that an Alliance trying to establish an identity of its own should hew so closely to the line constantly used by Hanoi, the Viet Cong and the NLF.

Another example of lack of subtlety on the part of the Alliance's inventors is their treatment of South Vietnamese leaders with whom, in any genuine settlement, they would have to compromise to some degree. Their attacks on Prime Minister Huong are a case in point. In contrast to their earlier avoidance of criticism of the Prime Minister, a number of recent Alliance broadcasts have sharply denounced Huong. The change came directly on the heels of Huong's denunciation of the Alliance and his undoubted part in the government decision to bring the Alliance membership to trial. It is evident that Huong was at first viewed as someone whom the Communists might manipulate and thus he was gently treated until he established himself as firmly anti-Communist.

Propaganda outlets in the USSR and in the Bloc have been no less diligent in promoting the Alliance. As soon as the establishment of the Alliance was announced, Soviet and Bloc outlets dropped their treatment of the NLF as the "sole" genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam and began suggesting that both the National Front and the Alliance should participate in a coalition government.

The Alliance has also been pushed to the forefront by Hanoi's representatives at the Paris talks. On 31 June a North Vietnamese representative (Nguyen Thanh Le) mentioned it as one of the "patriotic forces" in South Vietnam along with the NFLSVN. Just a few days earlier Hanoi's

chief negotiator Xuan Thuy had mentioned the Alliance's "solidarity with the NFLSVN" and on 20 July Ho Chi Minh listed the founding of the Alliance as one of the "major accomplishments" of the past months. There is little question that Hanoi is eager to have the Alliance accepted in the Paris negotiations and internationally as truly representative of the South Vietnamese people. They then could be "persuaded" to accept the Alliance as spokesman for South Vietnam should the NFLSVN prove unacceptable to the negotiators.

Communist Strategy and General Aims

The Communists have shown clearly that their strategy with respect to the Alliance has been carefully worked out and is planned to fall into successive stages:

First, as outlined earlier, to attract responsible figures from the professional and intellectual community;

Second, by attracting such figures, to create the illusion that the Alliance is truly representative of a wide portion of the population and is genuinely non-Communist despite the evidence of its sympathy with the aims of the National Front (now recognized as Communist-dominated);

Third, to so spread the fiction of the Alliance's universality and respectability that it could be an acceptable (and almost indispensable) participant in a coalition government representing Communist and non-Communist political elements;

Fourth, to lay the groundwork for direct U.S. talks with this front and ultimate U.S. agreement to a Saigon government which would include such a group;

Fifth, and finally, to so maneuver as to reduce the political power of the South Vietnamese Army and the present government leadership, thus leaving the South Vietnamese government more susceptible to infiltration and manipulation by the Alliance or its successors or counterparts.

Conclusions

Obviously the Alliance has fallen far short of the goals its Communist inventors had intended -- at least in the few months since it was surfaced. It is probably not too late, however, for the Communists to change strategy, to throttle down the enthusiasm they have shown for the Alliance, and still convince some areas of the world of the genuinely representative character of the Alliance. The increasing suspicion in some areas of the third world that the Alliance is nothing more than another Communist front could still be put to rest -- if not by this

newest national front, then perhaps by a more skillfully handled successor. The technique of the Communist front, when well handled, has proved in the past to be a dangerous weapon. Should there be a slackening of purpose on the part of South Vietnam's leaders or a military setback it is still possible that the Alliance could become an effective political instrument for the Communists in South Vietnam.

September to establish a new youth-based party with the aim of correcting some of the underlying causes of student discontent. It remains to be seen whether such a political group will come into being and if so, whether it can become a viable mechanism through which the politically conscious young can work toward their goals or whether it too will be infiltrated or taken over by extremists to use for their own ends.

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Excerpts from: Sekai Shuho, Tokyo
11 June 1968

"What is the Peace Forces Alliance? - The Revolutionary Regime Envisioned by Hanoi," by SATO Shigebuni, Special Correspondent in Saigon

True Nature of the Peace Forces Alliance

"... (the) actions of the democratic and peace organizations were reported, between Tet and mid-February, solely by NLF and NVN mass media such as the Liberation Radio, Radio Hanoi, and the Vietnam News Agency, and after the 'initial' period nothing was said about their activities.

"On the morning of 26 April, however, the Liberation Radio reported that the SVN Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces had held a national conference in the Cholon area on 20 and 21 April, and had made a 'Declaration of Independence, Democracy, Peace and National Salvation' and adopted an action policy, choosing lawyer Trinh Dinh Tao as chairman. Details of the ANDPF were soon thereafter made available by the Liberation Radio, Radio Hanoi and the Vietnam News Agency. This means that the ANDPF, after the Tet offensive, has progressed steadily with its organization, and the fact that the names of the members of the Central Committee have been given out means that, despite the fact that the ANDPF is a puppet of the NLF, it does have substance.

Elements from all Classes

"... Needless to say, the Central Committee of the ANDPF falls into (the) category ... (of) 'Political alliances to recruit intellectuals, doctors and lawyers....' Professor Hao of the Hue People's Democratic Peace Alliance Front sent a message to Chairman Tao of the ANDPF in which he said: 1) 'The formation of the ANDPF at this historical stage of critical importance has brought us great victories in the general offensive since early spring, and in widespread uprisings, stimulated a high degree of the will to revolt among all classes of the people of SVN, and once again demonstrated the inevitability of the total collapse of the Americans' puppets,' and 2) 'The people of varied political and religious beliefs from all classes in Hue pledge themselves to rally around the ANDPF, make full use of our recent victories, advance the struggle to oppose the aggression of the American imperialists, and make every effort to realize the platform of the ANDPF to construct independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity in SVN.' He indicated that he was ready to put himself under the direction of the ANDPF.

"... Immediately after the second wave of attacks on Saigon began on 5 May, some quarters reported the formation of a 'Saigon, Cholon and Gia Dinh Areas People's Revolutionary Committee.' This would be of the same nature as the 'Thua Thien-Hue People's Revolutionary Committee' and the 'Quang Tri People's Revolutionary Committee'; that is, it would fall into (the) category ... (of) ... 'Local administrative bodies.'

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"What is the significance of these organizations in the framework of political struggle by the NLF? There is no doubt that the new political platform adopted by the NLF in August 1967 is aimed at a broader base for the NLF and the revolutionary forces. Under the forceful direction of the NLF two groupings of organizations were formed for this aim. One is the ANDPF, the other the people's revolutionary committees. The ANDPF is to take its place alongside the NLF as a potential nucleus of a coalition government; the revolutionary committees are similar to the NLF's 'liberated areas' and constitute the base for local revolutionary regimes.

"At a press interview on 8 May Nguyen Van Hieu, the NLF representative in Cambodia, made two points: 1) The introduction of revolutionary warfare into the cities has opened the possibility of revolutionary power in the cities just as it exists in rural areas; 2) The ANDPF has been formed in the midst of a general offensive and the uprising of the people and it embraces intellectuals, men of culture, religionists, businessmen and even members of the Saigon Government troops. The Central Committee of the NLF welcomes the formation of the ANDPF, supports its political stand and action policy, and is prepared to engage in joint action with the ANDPF whenever it agrees with the political platform of the NLF.

"The expression in Saigon of the 'local people's democratic government' as stated in the political platform, is the people's revolutionary committees. 'The Revolutionary Provisional Government has been established in Saigon' ... (was) reported by Radio Hanoi on 11 May, from NLF sources.

"The present talks in Paris are being conducted against an extremely clever background of a combined military and political maneuvering: the political platform of August last year, the winter-spring general offensive, the organization of democratic organizations. The cleverness is such that it reminds one of precise blueprints for machinery or in architecture. This makes one wonder all the more if the ANDPF and the revolutionary committees have any substance in fact. Although both spring from the provisions of the political platform, their activities are propagandized by the Liberation Radio, Liberation News and the propaganda media of NVN exclusively, indicating that they are puppet organizations of the NLF and Hanoi, auxiliaries of the NLF.

"On the other hand, so long as known and existing personalities list themselves as members, the ANDPF cannot be passed off as having no substance. In a national TV and radio broadcast on 9 May President Thieu made it known that he had ordered the military and the police to fire on any demonstrations by the ANDPF. As if to back up his words, the Saigon police announced on the 16th that they had arrested many students, teachers and boy scouts who had attempted to organize an ANDPF demonstration. No doubt there are some people in SVN who are rallying to the ANDPF. But there is also no doubt that the ANDPF is under the forceful direction of the NLF for protection, propaganda and all other activities.

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COMMUNIST FRONT REACTIONS TO SOVIET
INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The international Communist fronts are seriously embarrassed and divided by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The leaders of two of the most important fronts have publicly protested the Soviet action: the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in a message read at the annual convention of the West German Metal Workers Union on September 2 (reported in Rassagne Sindacale, September 15), and the president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), Rudolfo Mechini, in a statement published in L'Unità, the Italian CP organ, on August 27. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) also protested the Soviet intervention in a carefully worded statement that appeared in l'Humanité on August 23.* There is evidence of opposition to the Soviet intervention within the other fronts; in any event, and significantly, the customary front statements supporting Soviet policy in a critical period have not been forthcoming thus far, a month after the invasion took place.

The unprecedented condemnation of Soviet actions by the principal officers and Secretariat of the Prague-based WFTU is particularly revealing of the turmoil and disarray that currently beset the international Communist movement. The WFTU is the most substantial and strategically-placed of the international Communist front organizations and has until now maintained an unblemished fidelity to Soviet policies and interests.

On August 21, WFTU Secretary General Louis Saillant orally informed Hungarian Trade Union Council Secretary General Gaspar of his disapproval of the intervention, and on August 24, in response to an appeal from the Czechoslovak Trade Union Council, a letter signed by Saillant and WFTU Chairman Renato Bitossi was given to Gaspar which reiterated their condemnation of the intervention by the five Warsaw Pact countries and upheld the Czech position. Gaspar was requested to transmit the contents of the WFTU letter to the trade union centers of the other occupying states.

Meeting on August 28, the Secretariat of the WFTU, which includes the secretaries and headquarters staff of the organization, issued a communique denouncing the intervention and declaring "its full solidarity to the workers and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic." The Saillant declaration of the 21st and the letter of August 24 were also approved.

* Copies of the texts are attached

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"What is the ultimate goal of the political struggle by the NLF? The political platform says: 'To establish a people's democratic coalition government that includes people of various classes, minority groups, religious organizations, patriotic and democratic political parties, patriots, and the most representative people from the forces that contributed to the liberation of the people.' Hieu, the NLF's representative in Cambodia, asked at a press interview why he had not used the words 'sole representative of the people of SVN,' replied, 'That is a reflection of the objective conditions at the moment. The NLF is an organization of all patriotic organizations and was the first vanguard of the struggle for independence, but the formation of the ANDPF has created a new situation.'

"These words would imply a coalition government with the participation not only of the political parties and organizations of the NLF, but also of such 'cooperative' democratic organizations, nominally outside of the NLF, as the ANDPF. To make a daring prediction, they envision a revolutionary government whose main body is formed of all democratic organizations recognized by the NLF, something on the order of the CPPCC in Communist China; a revolutionary government whose leadership will be held by the People's Revolutionary Party, the auxiliary party of the NVN Lao Dong Party.

"The road to coalition government as envisioned by the NLF has become a little clearer with the advent of the ANDPF, but the story has only begun. Things are happening fast in Vietnam and we must see what lies ahead."

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

COMMUNIQUE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Today, 28 August 1968, the Secretariat of the WFTU was finally able to meet in full at its headquarters in Prague, for the first time since the serious situation created by the entry into Czechoslovakian territory by the armed forces of the 5 socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact. Under the circumstances that had kept them separated during these last days, the secretaries exchanged mutually their information and their points of view and took note of the letter of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions dated August 22nd and of the declaration made orally by the General Secretary of the WFTU on August 21, in Budapest, as well as the joint letter of the General Secretary and the President of the WFTU which was handed on August 24 1968 to brother Gaspar, General Secretary of the Central Council of the Hungarian Trade Unions and member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU with the request to forward it to the National Centres of the other countries concerned.

This declaration of August 21 and letter of August 24 1968 condemned and deeply regretted the military intervention of the 5 countries of the Warsaw Pact on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Stating that due to the exceptional circumstances which arose, these steps could not be made known to public opinion, the Secretariat therefore decides to publish the letter of August 24 1968.

The Secretariat of the WFTU in fully approving this letter expresses its disapproval of the military intervention which contradicts all the fundamental principles that form the basis of the life of the WFTU and which are freely established by all the national Centres affiliated to the WFTU.

The Secretariat expresses its full solidarity to the workers and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and pays homage to their calm and composure. In the interest of trade union unity and proletarian internationalism and at the same time it alerts the workers of the world against the present plans and especially machination of those who have until now taken good care not to condemn the American imperialist aggression against the freedom and independence of the Vietnam people.

Respect for the sovereignty, national independence of each country, the non-interference in its internal affairs, the determination to solve outstanding international problems by negotiation and without resort to force and war, these are the rules which make sense only if they are faithfully adhered to on an international scale.

On this basis a relaxation of international tension can be achieved which would greatly favour the development of unity between the trade unions and the peoples, a unity which, in its turn would led to a pronounced relaxation of international tension. The Secretariat of the WFTU fervently desires that the very grave repercussions resulting from the situation created by the intervention in Czechoslovakia be overcome and, pledges itself to act concretely so that the principles of solidarity, friendship, cooperation which the WFTU has always stood for, should again be firmly established and reinforced on the basis of their joint interests, the struggles and successes of the workers of the whole world.

The Secretariat of the WFTU assures the Czechoslovak trade unions of its determination to spare no efforts in helping the workers and the Czechoslovak people to achieve a return to a normal and peaceful life and so create the best conditions to pursue the building of socialism in this country without the presence of foreign armies.

The Secretariat of the WFTU took note of the communique issued in Moscow by the Czechoslovak and Soviet delegations.

by establishing West European Communist or pro-Communist nationals in their leadership. In fact, eight of the fronts now have a West European president and/or secretary general, and all the fronts include West Europeans among their most influential members. As a result, the fronts are seriously affected by the strong currents of opinion opposing the Soviet intervention that are flowing through the West European Communist parties.

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L'UNITA, Rome
24 August 1968

[Text of communique released by the PCI Directorate on 23 August.

Meeting under the chairmanship of Comrade Longo, the PCI Directorate fully approves the communique issued by the Political Bureau and Comrade Longo's statements on the Czechoslovakian events. The Directorate also reaffirms its deepest disagreement with and reprobation of the military intervention by the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia, as it cannot condone violations of any country on any account.

The PCI Directorate considers it absolutely essential and urgent that the parties and governments of the five countries concerned comply with the demands of the Czechoslovak Government and Communist Party that they withdraw their troops and respect the democratically elected state and party organs, and that they allow Comrade Dubcek and other Czechoslovak leaders to carry on freely with their work. Only in this way will it be possible to reach a political solution and to avoid further dramatic aggravations of the situation in Czechoslovakia, and graver rifts in the international communist and democratic movement.

The Italian Communist Party is taking these positions as an active member of the workers' and communist movement and considers it its unmistakable internationalist responsibility to aim at supporting the affirmation of a new concept of unity and new relations between the communist and revolutionary forces, based on the principles of full respect for the autonomy of every party, common solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, the search of various ways to achieve and build socialism, and the consistent development of socialist democracy.

The PCI Directorate denounces and refutes the campaign which is being waged in Italy by the reactionary forces and press organs of the haute bourgeoisie, aiming--behind hypocritical words of sympathy for the cause of socialist renovation in Czechoslovakia--to create a bloc of diverse forces in the struggle against socialism and to darken the historic heritage of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist and anti-imperialist world in the eyes of public opinion and in the conscience of the Italian workers. It is in the interest of all democratic and leftwing forces in our country, even in the present emotional moment; to differ decisively with this campaign and this reactionary bloc, and to refute the tendency already apparent in the Italian Government to speculate irresponsibly on the dramatic Czechoslovakian event, adopting positions--on the anti-H treaty [presumably the nonproliferation treaty] and on the strengthening of the Atlantic Pact--which threaten to ultimately aggravate the international tension and the division of Europe into opposing camps. The same international and European situation indicates, instead, the necessity for a policy leading to overcoming the military blocs, to European security, and to new international relations that guarantee peace and the emancipation of the peoples.

At the present moment and in the face of this attempt to reverse the Italian political situation, maximum effort to draw together and to insure agreement between all democratic and leftwing forces is indispensable. These efforts must also include a common search to resolve the great problems of the renovation and unity of the Italian and international workers' movement, and of the development of the democratic and socialist struggle in Italy and Western Europe.

The directorate invites all party organizations to undertake a great task of clarification and fraternal discussion among all comrades, and summons a meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission for Tuesday, 27 August, at 1600.

=(signed) PCI Directorate, 23 August 1968.

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L'UNITA
24 August 1968

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Il comunicato della Direzione del PCI

Indispensabile l'accoglimento delle richieste per il ritiro delle truppe - Dubcek e gli altri dirigenti debbono poter svolgere liberamente la loro opera - Ferma denuncia della campagna antisovietica scatenata dalla borghesia e dall'imperialismo

LA DIREZIONE del PCI riunita sotto la presidenza del compagno Longo approva pienamente il comunicato dell'Ufficio Politico e le dichiarazioni del compagno Longo sugli avvenimenti cecoslovacchi; ribadisce il suo grave dissenso e la sua riprovazione per l'intervento militare dell'URSS e degli altri quattro paesi del patto di Varsavia in Cecoslovacchia, non potendosi in nessun caso ammettere violazioni dell'indipendenza di ogni Stato.

La Direzione del PCI ritiene indispensabile ed urgente che i partiti comunisti e i governi dei cinque paesi intervenuti accolgano le richieste avanzate dal governo e dal Partito comunista cecoslovacchi affinché si proceda al ritiro delle truppe, si consenta agli organismi legali, democraticamente eletti, dello Stato e del Partito di riprendere la loro attività, si assicuri al compagno Dubcek e agli altri dirigenti cecoslovacchi la possibilità di svolgere liberamente la loro opera. Solo in tal modo si può giungere rapidamente ad una soluzione politica, che eviti ulteriori drammatici aggravamenti della situazione in Cecoslovacchia e più gravi lacerazioni nel movimento comunista e democratico internazionale.

Il PCI assume queste posizioni in quanto parte attiva del movimento operaio e comunista, ritenendo suo dovere internazionalista una chiara assunzione di responsabilità, allo scopo di favorire l'affermarsi di una nuova concezione dell'unità e di nuovi rapporti tra le forze comuniste e rivoluzionarie, fondati sui principi del pieno rispetto dell'indipendenza di ogni paese e dell'autonomia di ogni partito, della comune solidarietà nella lotta contro l'imperialismo e per la pace, della ricerca di vie diverse per la conquista e costruzione del socialismo, dello sviluppo conseguente della democrazia socialista.

LA DIREZIONE del PCI denuncia e respinge la campagna con cui in Italia da parte delle forze reazionarie e degli organi di stampa della grande borghesia si tenta — dietro sperte parole di simpatia per la causa del

rinnovamento socialista in Cecoslovacchia — di far bloccare forze diverse su una linea di lotta contro il socialismo; di oscurare nell'opinione pubblica e nella coscienza dei lavoratori italiani il patrimonio storico delle conquiste dell'Unione Sovietica e del mondo socialista, della loro decisiva funzione nella lotta antifascista e anti-imperialista. E' interesse di tutte le forze democratiche e di sinistra del nostro Paese — pur nella emozione del momento — differenziarsi decisamente dalla campagna e dal blocco reazionario; e respingere la tendenza già emersa nel governo italiano a speculare irresponsabilmente sulla drammatica vicenda cecoslovacca con posizioni — sul trattato «anti H» e sul rafforzamento del Patto Atlantico — che minacciano di aggravare ulteriormente la tensione internazionale e la divisione dell'Europa in blocchi contrapposti. Proprio la presente situazione internazionale ed europea dimostra invece la necessità di una politica che conduca al superamento dei blocchi militari, a un regime di sicurezza europea, a un nuovo assetto dei rapporti internazionali, che garantisca la pace e l'emancipazione dei popoli.

IN QUESTO momento, e di fronte al tentativo di spingere indietro la situazione politica italiana, è indispensabile il massimo sforzo di avvicinamento e di intesa tra tutte le forze di sinistra e democratiche, anche attraverso una comune ricerca sui grandi problemi del rinnovamento e della unità del movimento operaio italiano e internazionale, e dello sviluppo della lotta democratica e socialista in Italia e nell'Occidente europeo.

La Direzione invita le organizzazioni del Partito a svolgere opera di ampia chiarificazione e di aperta e fraterna discussione tra tutti i compagni; e convoca il Comitato Centrale e la Commissione Centrale di Controllo per martedì 27 agosto alle ore 16.

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UNANIMITÉ AU COMITÉ CENTRAL du Parti Communiste Français sur la situation créée par l'intervention militaire en Tchécoslovaquie

LA RÉOLUTION DU COMITÉ CENTRAL

L E Comité Central du Parti Communiste Français, réuni hier à Paris sous la présidence de Jacques Duclos, a entendu un rapport de Waldeck Rochet sur la situation créée par l'intervention militaire en Tchécoslovaquie. Au terme de la discussion il a adopté à l'unanimité la résolution que nous publions ci-dessous.

L E Comité Central du Parti Communiste Français, réuni en session extraordinaire le 22 août 1968, a étudié la situation créée par l'intervention militaire de l'Union Soviétique, de la Bulgarie, de la Pologne, de la Hongrie

et de la République Démocratique Allemande en Tchécoslovaquie.

Il approuve le rapport présenté au nom du Bureau Politique par le camarade Waldeck Rochet.

Dans la dernière période, notre Parti

avait certains aspects de la situation en Tchécoslovaquie. A la faveur des justes efforts du Parti Communiste de Tchécoslovaquie pour développer la démocratie socialiste, pour améliorer le style et les méthodes de travail du Parti et de l'Etat, des forces hostiles au socialisme déployaient leurs activités. L'action de ces éléments ne rencontrait pas toute la riposte politique et idéologique nécessaire. La réaction mondiale, en particulier les milieux dirigeants de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest revancharde et expansionniste ne cachaient pas qu'ils escomptaient un affaiblissement de l'alliance unissant la Tchécoslovaquie aux autres pays de la communauté socialiste, alliance qui constitue le gage de la sécurité du peuple tchécoslovaque, des pays socialistes et de la paix en Europe.

Notre Parti a fait état de ses préoccupations lors de la session du Comité Central du 19 avril et devant le Parti frère de Tchécoslovaquie lui-même, notamment durant les entretiens du secrétaire général du Parti Communiste Français avec la direction du Parti Communiste de Tchécoslovaquie.

Il a accueilli avec une vive satisfaction les conclusions positives des rencontres de Cierna et de Bratislava. Il a salué l'entente réalisée entre les partis communistes d'Union Soviétique, de Tchécoslovaquie, de Pologne, de Bulgarie, de Hongrie et de République Démocratique

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Allemande sur les problèmes actuels de la lutte contre l'impérialisme et pour le socialisme. La rencontre de Bratislava créait des conditions favorables au renforcement de la coopération des pays socialistes sur la base de l'égalité, de l'indépendance nationale, de l'entraide et de la solidarité, ainsi qu'à de nouveaux succès de ces pays dans la construction d'une société nouvelle, prospère et démocratique.

Comme il n'a cessé de le rappeler, notre Parti considère que les problèmes surgissant entre les partis communistes doivent être examinés et résolus par des discussions fraternelles lors de rencontres bilatérales et multilatérales, à la fois dans le respect de la souveraineté de chaque pays, la libre détermination de chaque Parti et dans l'esprit de l'internationalisme prolétarien.

Il est résolument attaché au principe selon lequel chaque parti communiste doit déterminer sa politique, ses formes d'action, ses méthodes de lutte en toute indépendance sur la base du marxisme-léninisme et en tenant compte à la fois des conditions concrètes dans lesquelles il mène son combat, des intérêts de la classe ouvrière et de son peuple, des intérêts du mouvement démocratique et révolutionnaire mondial.

Il se prononce en conséquence contre toute ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un parti frère.

C'est en s'appuyant sur ces principes, définis par la Déclaration des 81 Partis Communistes et Ouvriers en 1960, que le Parti Communiste Français a pris une série d'initiatives : entretiens avec les dirigeants du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique et avec ceux du Parti Commu-

niste de Tchécoslovaquie, proposition de tenir une réunion des Partis Communistes et Ouvriers d'Europe. Il a fait connaître clairement aux Partis intéressés son opposition à toute intervention militaire de l'extérieur.

C'est pourquoi le Comité Central, faisant sienne la Déclaration du Bureau Politique du 21 août 1968, désapprouve l'intervention militaire en Tchécoslovaquie. C'est au Parti Communiste de Tchécoslovaquie qu'il appartient, compte tenu de ses obligations internationales, de trouver en lui-même, dans la classe ouvrière et le peuple tchécoslovaques, dans le soutien des pays socialistes et de l'ensemble des Partis frères, les forces nécessaires pour sauvegarder et développer le socialisme en Tchécoslovaquie.

Le Parti Communiste Français ne relâchera pas ses efforts en faveur de l'unité du mouvement communiste international, en faveur du renforcement de ses rapports de solidarité et de coopération avec tous les Partis Communistes et Ouvriers et particulièrement des liens d'amitié fraternelle qui l'unissent depuis toujours au Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique.

En même temps, le Parti Communiste Français poursuivra avec résolution sa lutte pour la politique nationale de paix, d'indépendance, de démocratie et de socialisme dont ses congrès — et notamment son 18^e Congrès — ont défini les objectifs, les moyens et les conditions.

Il appelle tous les communistes, tous les travailleurs et démocrates à combattre les spéculations et provocations anti-communistes et antisoviétiques auxquelles les ennemis du socialisme en France et dans le monde ne manqueront pas de se livrer à la faveur des événements.